

THE IMPACT OF GMA POLICY AND NAVAL MODERNISATION TOWARDS INDONESIAN MARITIME SECURITY

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Abstract

Indonesia is an archipelago country in the South East Asian with three main straits in the Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs). Global Maritime Axis Policy (GMA) has being introduced plus naval modernization to enhance Indonesia Maritime security. This article has three objectives namely 1) GMA policy's impact towards National Maritime Security, 2) GMA policy's impact towards Indo-Pacific Region and 3) GMA policy's impact towards Indonesian Naval Forces Organisation. This article using secondary data. The findings of this article are 1) Indonesia successfully decreasing the maritime crime in its water, 2) TNI-AL has increasing its security relations with other countries in ASEAN and 3) Indonesia has modernise naval power so that it has increasing its maritime security in waterways.

Keywords: GMA Policy, Indonesia, Maritime Security, TNI-AL, SLOCs

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Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelago country has a huge threat from the sea such as piracy, sea robbery, smuggling and human trafficking. In 2016, President Joko Widodo has implemented Global Maritime Axis Policy (GMA) to enhance the security of Indonesia's waterway. The GMA's aim is to enhance the connectivity and maritime infrastructures such as the construction of sea-lane communication, infrastructures, marine ports and logistics communications assets which has the potential to enhance the maritime tourism, fisheries and maritime sectors (Joko & Jusuf 2014). It also aims to modernize the maritime tourism sector, promoting fishermen's activities and native marine industries. This has the potential to promote the empowerment of the food security for Indonesia. The new maritime doctrines emphasize on the reinterpretation of Indonesia's interest as the largest archipelago country in the world's, which is located geographically at the convergence of major interest sectors (Joko & Jusuf 2014).

In Jokowi's maritime policy, has to strive to reverse on national's foreign policy and renew the nation's international affairs are based on the significant points of archipelago sectors (Joko & Jusuf 2014). First, National's maritime diplomacy to promote a border dispute resolution among neighbouring countries. Furthermore, its avoid loss of economic aspects of those had countries involved in longer period if it is not resolved immediately. Thus, the Indonesian government had promoted the cooperation of strategic industrial relations within countries participant such as includes marine and defence industry. Second, maintaining the integrity of the maritime sovereignty, security and social towards outer islands. The Indonesian government had redesigned the defence plan includes the emergence the Indonesia Armed Force's capability as the main sea guard towards its maritime territory. Third, to protect the country's resources and the *Exclusive Economic Zone* (EEZ) by modernising the Indonesian Armed Forces and local maritime authorities agency. Indonesia also had encouraged the maritime partnership arrangement between Asia Pacific region countries to strengthen the security elements within the EEZ. Fourth, establishing the Intensify Defence diplomacy by conduct military exercises partnership with Asia Pacific countries. Jokowi had the intent to conduct a military bilateral exercises between the military units from Asia Pacific to suit his vision of expanding the influences and maintaining security within the maritime region. At the same time, Jokowi encourages the neighbourhood countries to maintaining a selected the commercial maritime

approach for mutual benefits. These initiatives were in form of cooperation such as Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI), Joint Patrol Navies of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore (MALSINDO), Eyes-in-the-Sky (EiS), the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships (ReCAAP) and the Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP). Fifth, reducing maritime competition among the Superpowers and resolve the territorial disputes in the region by implementing peace agreements such as China and India. The Indonesian government realise that as nation maritime is required a keep maintaining a relationship with Major Power countries for gains the economic growth and strengthen the maritime security territory.

Promoting the GMA concept, Jokowi's intent was to set Indonesia as an influential maritime nation in the Pan Indo-Pacific (PACINDO) region sectors (Joko & Jusuf 2014). Jokowi is interested in the idea of interconnected Pacific and Pan Indo-Pacific's lines, which has served as the main theatre of Indonesia's foreign policy involvement. Therefore, Indonesia is enhancing to improve diplomatic presence in the region by implementing the policy manners sectors: (1) Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN Summit as a platform for encourage on unity among countries: (2) Strengthening the position and cooperation within the regional group: (3) Striving and encourage a bilateral strategic partnerships: (4) As a manager to control the regional of commerce a collaboration and peaceful commerce for government beneficial; and (5)

Map 2.1 Indonesian Territory



Source: [www.http://cntravelre.com/post/indonesia](http://cntravelre.com/post/indonesia)

The Impact towards National Maritime Security

Nowadays, the emergence of Indonesia as a key player in the regional and uncertainty a geopolitical domain has attracted attention by countries in the Pan Indo-Pacific (PACINDO) region (Raymond 2017). Furthermore, the concern by Jokowi as president of Indonesia, which has a foresight is empowering the *Tentera Nasional Indonesia-Angkatan Laut* (TNI-AL) capability to protect the nation's interests within its territory (Sambhi 2015). While emphasizing on the development of Naval Forces, Kementerian Pertahanan Indonesia (KEMHAN) had focused on three key aspects which are upgrading the TNI-AL's capabilities to protect the nation's resources, the development program through collaboration with local and foreign investor and gaining a maritime procurement from local and foreign countries (Strong Economic Growth 2016). Some highlights modernization of the TNI-AL's acquisition from Russia, the U.S, the Netherlands, France and South Korea (Strong Economic Growth 2016).

The KEMHAN has been promoting a new program to strengthen the capacity of the Minimum Essential Force¹ (MEF) by 2024 for facilitating the continuity of economic growth and sustaining maritime security (Raja Marpaung, D 2014). The concept of MEF 2024 is the deployment of *green water navy* will be upgrading its capabilities with various equipment acquisition in order to protect the country's major strategic and replacement the obsolete TNI-AL's equipment (Swee Lean 2015). This modernization initiative focuses on strengthening and endurance the TNI-AL's as the main guardian in maintaining maritime security within a territory and a main strategic sea-lane within the Straits of Malacca and Sunda. Indonesia also aspires to expand the TNI-AL's Sea Power and giving an impact within its maritime territory and the PACINDO region (Swee Lean 2015).

¹ MEF is the amount of strength and ability to be built and owned by the TNI-AL that in its calculations also consider internal and external factors as well as using the approach to the task. MEF development of the Navy realized gradually in three strategic plans, namely: the period 2010-2014, the period 2015-2019, the period 2020-2024. Navy as an integral part of the TNI has implemented the first phase of the development policy MEF years 2010 - 2014 include the development of capabilities and strengths in which there is modernization, defence equipment procurement and disposal of *Alutsista* as well as the development of the organization (Waluyo, D, Wirjodirdjo, B and Supartono. (2016). *Policy Scenarios to Achieve Minimum Essential Force/MEF Target: Case Study of Indonesia Navy*. Program Studi Analisa Sistem dan Riset Operasi, Direktorat Pascasarjana Sekolah Tinggi Teknologi Angkatan Laut, 1-2).

In 2014, the Indonesian government was enforcing the maritime law by enacting Law Number 31 of 2014 as amended by Act No. 45 of 2009 under the fisheries to deter the activities of illegal fishing in Indonesia's territory (Nurdin, Ikaningtyas & Kurniaty 2017).² The government has also established the Ministry of Maritime Affairs to uphold the maritime laws and take decisive action to sink the foreign vessels that conviction for illegally fishing in Indonesian territory. Referring to this new law, Indonesia's maritime law enforcement has sunk 71 foreign vessels until 2016 (Salna 2016). With such firm action, the government is confident to protect its territory and a warning signal to the others that not allowed illegal fishing activities and disobey the law within Indonesia's maritime territory. Therefore, the application of *sink the foreign vessels* towards the illegal activities within Indonesia's maritime is possible to maintain the maritime security and encourage the investor for collaboration partnership in commercial trades.³

On 30th June 2017, the Indonesian government had agreed that launched the collaboration maritime security agreement with the Philippines and Malaysia (Kabling 2017). These countries will deploy their naval force and be applying a coordinate a maritime patrol for confronting a militant group who navigate freely in these countries' maritime. With this a new concept, these countries agreed that allowed to conduct *hot pursuits* towards a militant group, kidnapping for ransom and trans border crime activities by each other's maritime security forces into each nation's border (Thompson 2017). The maritime operation namely Trilateral Maritime Patrol was stationed in naval base and involving from land and air forces in order to ensure the security in the maritime of Sulu Sea, Northeast of Borneo and Southeast of the Philippines (Chan 2017). Even though the concept still a new, it may still impact towards maritime security and coerce the perpetrator groups are restricted during cross-border activities in the future (Thompson 2017).

²By law fishery, sanctions will be imposed against individuals who carry out illegal fishing is quite serious (i.e If the fishing vessel does not have a license or permit to carry out an activity or if the vessel with the Indonesian flag in violation of regulations, the operators and owners of vehicles water is subject to 6 years in prison or a fine of RP 2 billion). In addition, if the offence committed by foreign-flag vessel operators and ship owners can be liable to imprisonment for six years or a fine of RP 20 billion.

³ Nurdin, Ikaningtyas, and Kurniaty, R. (2017). *The implementation of vessel-sinking policy as an effort to protect Indonesian fishery resources and territorial waters*. 6-7.

Among the former Indonesian leaders whom had addressed the threats effectively were not focusing on the deployment of the military units as the main layer of defence (Arif, M and Kurniawan 2016). In practice Indonesia is strategic, the threats identified to threaten the national unity and culture will confronting with the Tentara Nasional Indonesia- Angkatan Darat (TNI-AD) and not the TNI-AL. This is because TNI-AL is not afforded a major role in Indonesia's strategic defence such as maritime law enforcement and involvement in high-risk military operations. Nevertheless, under Jokowi's leadership that encouraging the among troops in the TNI-AD exchange to Marine Corps for facilitating the TNI-AL to maintain a Sea Power within the maritime territory (Rabasa and Hasemen 2002).⁴ Furthermore, the TNI-AL is answerable to ensure more secure maritime security in order to promote its GMA policy towards local and foreign investors (Laksmana, E.A. 2017).

The Impact towards Indo-Pacific Region

Since 2011, the Indonesian government had interest towards the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) because of a lot agenda in the region, especially for generating economic and ensuring the maritime is secured (Dharma and Banyu Perwita (2015). For example, the Jokowi's GMA policy is interest towards upgrading the capability of TNI-AL for providing as a sea guardian to counter the transnational crimes activities including armed robbery, piracy and illegal fishing. Even though the IORA in development level, the government remains a participating as an IORA's members for promoting the GMA's policy to coherent security architecture.⁵ Thus, the GMA Policy as the main player by activating the maritime security role's in enhancing the IORA's regional and modernising the TNI-AL as Sea Power in the PACINDO region.⁶

On 16th January 2018, the Singaporean government had announced that robbery cases in Malacca and Singapore Strait are escalated with nine cases in 2017 while compare with 2 cases

⁴Mahan has explained that the history of sea power is the fundamental of human civilization whether the rise or fall of major nations (Mahan, A. T. *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783*, 30-31). The Indonesian government is required to upgrade the TNI-AL capability and maintaining the maritime security.

⁵ Menlu RI: Melalui Keketuaan IORA, Indonesia Perkuat Poros Maritim. (2015, February 25). *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved July 14, 2018, from http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/News.aspx?IDP=72_55&l=id.

⁶ Menlu RI: Melalui Keketuaan IORA, Indonesia Perkuat Poros Maritim. (2015, February 25). *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*.

has occurred in the last year (Min Zhang 2018). Additionally, the out of nine cases has occurred whereby 8 cases in the Singapore Strait and one case in the Malacca Strait. However, Masafumi Kuroki as Executive Director of ReCAAP ISC had explained that the countries did not have worry about the escalating the cases if compared to the 1990's which markedly escalated as the strait was the black area with armed robbery and piracy group.⁷ He also declared that the regional coordination under the Malacca Straits Patrols(MSP) is performing as sea guardian very well and highly committed, especially since the Malacca Strait was considered the black area, but it almost no cases recently (Min Zhang 2018).

The Indian government had agreed that sharing a common interest with Indonesia is relevant due to ensuring maritime security and maintaining the command of the sea for the safety of the lines of communication (Ganapathy 2016). They were also stressed that requirement for freedom navigating in the Indian Ocean and the peaceful resolution towards overlapping claim the South China Sea. Furthermore, both of government is taking manners by conducting a naval force as a joint Sea Power for gaining the nation's interest together and maintaining a maritime security from the principal threat in the Indian Ocean is China. The Indian government had stressed that India's Act East Policy is successful and remaining relevant because of maritime partnerships with Indonesia (Vasan 2017). Most of the significance with security tier is enhancing a commanding sea by rule of law and confronting a transnational criminal activity such as arm robbery, piracy, drug and human trafficking, an illegal immigrant, smuggling and terrorism as well.

On 24th November 2017, The Chief of Staff of the TNI-AL, Admiral (ADM) Ade Supandi was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal (Military) from the Singapore government.⁸ The award is significant in contributing in an excellent partnership between the TNI-AL and the Republic of Singapore Navy (RSN) via military activities such as Navy to Navy Commander Talks, bilateral exercise, exchange program and cross-training of courses. The Indonesian

⁷ MAREX. (2018, April 25). ReCAAP ISC and RSIS Hold Piracy Roundtable. *The Maritime Executive*. Retrieved July 10, 2018, from <https://www.maritime-executive.com/corporate/recaap-isc-and-rsis-hold-piracy-roundtable#gs.GkTOwoQ>.

⁸Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Navy Receives Prestigious Military Award. (2017, September 24). *Singapore MINDEF*. Retrieved July 13, 2018, from <https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2017/november/24nov17>.

government has a high commitment in a maritime collaboration, a partnership by facilitating in maritime security to counter the arm robberies and piracy within an area of Malacca and Singapore Straits. TNI-AL had also been attached to the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) Combine Task Force for confrontation the armed robbery and piracy group activities within the area of Gulf Aden.⁹ Under Jokowi's government, the TNI-AL also participated in the International Maritime Defence Exhibition and Conference Asia 2017 (IMDEX 2017) and the RSN's inaugural International Maritime Review.¹⁰

Since the government was launched the GMA policy by applying sink the foreign vessels were responded by ASEAN neighbour countries Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia because of the majority fishing vessels belong these countries had operated within Indonesia's territory.¹¹ The Thailand government had criticised that exploded and sank a vessel fishing will impact the unity among the region's countries who keen to establish the integrity of the ASEAN regional bloc.¹² However, the Indonesian government take a manner for solving the issue by collaboration with Thailand in against the illegal fishing. Both countries had agreed that signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for maritime partnership on fisheries and manpower sectors.¹³

Since there are illegal fishing had escalated in Malaysia's maritime territory, the government has overcome by enhancing *burning vessels* policy during against the illegal fishing as following Indonesia's policy regulation (Rodzi 2017). On 30 August 2017, the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency has burned the illegal fishing vessels and the policy had been encouraged by local fisherman for maintaining its maritime territory. Unlike in Vietnam's, that

⁹Singapore Takes Over Command of Multinational Counter-Piracy Task Force for Fifth Time. (2018, June 28). *Singapore MINDEF*. Retrieved July 13, 2018, from https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/articledetail/2018/june/28jun17_nr2.

¹⁰IMDEX Asia 2017, Defence Show, Singapore. (2017, May 12). *Marine Data*. Retrieved July 13, 2018, from <https://marine-data.co.uk/imdex-asia-2017-defence-show-singapore/>.

¹¹Indonesia is Wrong. (2015, January 5). *Bangkok Post*. Retrieved July 17, 2018, from <http://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/454323/indonesia-is-wrong>.

¹²Indonesia joins Thailand to Fight Illegal Fishing. (2015, April 29). *Thailand Today*. Retrieved July 18, 2018, from <http://www.thailandtoday.in.th/global-citizen/elibrary/article/901>.

¹³Indonesia, Thailand to set up manpower cooperation. (2017, April 3). *Malaysian Reserve*. Retrieved July 18, 2018, from <https://themalaysianreserve.com/2017/04/03/indonesia-thailand-to-set-up-manpower-cooperation/>.

issue had been escalated since the fisheries sector is significance for commercial partnership (Parameswaran (2015). The Vietnam government also mentioned that they will be educating their fisherman on maritime and fisheries law and signed MoU partnership for an eradicate the illegal fishing activities.

The Impact towards Indonesian Naval Forces Organisation

Human resource is the most significant for operating the multi-task roles of TNI-AL organization (Maksum 2017). The effectiveness of human resources of the TNI-AL is possible an achieving a quantity, quality and competence of human resources requirements. This fact will certainly be an impact on the implementation of activities in order to achieve the TNI-AL's goal. However, the quality of human resources of the Navy is based on manpower to manage the main equipment of weapons systems within the MEF doctrine. Therefore, the TNI-AL's human resource department is answerable for remaining the benchmark quality standards and the advancement of science and technology, so that all the personal navy are capable to work professionally as it has the appropriate competence (Budiyanto and Riduwan 2018). Furthermore, the TNI-AL's capability of human resources is forming the conformity of knowledge and skills, so that they have the ability to carry out their duties.

The MEF doctrine also is impacting the TNI-AL's procurement of material/main equipment of weapons systems.¹⁴ The aims to modernize the main equipment of weapons systems. Thus, the Navy has demands the main equipment of weapons systems owned to replace the current pieces of equipment. The TNI-AL's of strategy development is the ideal by posturing TNI-AL in the future and forming a basic force in certain standards and has a deterrent effect as well. Therefore, the procurement is the main component for enhancing a modern technology with the main equipment of weapon systems.¹⁵ Facility bases and training areas are one element to support the maintenance of the main equipment of weapons systems (Sarjito, Wijaya & Hermawan. 2014). Then the training area is an area for the development of resources, especially

¹⁴ Indonesian Defence White Paper: Chapter 7 State Defence, or Bela Negara. (2015). *Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Indonesia*, ISBN 978-979-8878-04-6, 101-103.

¹⁵ Indonesian Defence White Paper: Chapter 7 State Defence, or Bela Negara. (2015). *Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Indonesia*.

the human resource professionals in operating the main equipment of weapons systems. Fulfilment facility bases and training areas are sufficient, continuous training program and implemented sustainable as well.

Budget is another important element in the MEF doctrine and without an adequate budget, the *Green Water Navy* cannot be implemented.¹⁶ The government provides an insufficient budget for the military, so it has a positive impact towards the equipment, weaponry and personal welfare inadequate. The defence budget sector has been prioritized in the 1945 Constitution¹⁷ mandates that the defence budget is allocated at least 20% of the national budget.¹⁸

The MEF doctrine had aligned with revitalizing the defence industry, are capable to overcome the threats within the framework of the military such as Military Operations War and Military Operations Other Than War (Herstyadi 2017). In addition, the Indonesian government is more progressive policies to modernise the science and technology and defence sector in order to realize the independence of the defence industry.¹⁹ Thus, the government had made the decision by concentrating a domestic industry product in Batam to provide the naval shipyard equipment in order to prevent a high taxes and did not impose an import taxes.²⁰ The domestic defence

¹⁶ Archive for Industry Militer Budget TNI. (2018, January 31). *Indonesia Companies News*. Retrieved July 16, 2018, from <https://indonesiacompanynews.wordpress.com/category/industry-militer-budget-tni/page/2/>.

¹⁷ The Indonesian 1945 Constitution must be obeyed by the people, government including foreign tourists. The Indonesian Constitution has begun from history the Japanese invading the Dutch East Indies and Sukarno has planned to establish a legal basis for Indonesia after independence. After declaring independence on August 17, 1945, he officially declared 1945 Constitution as the legal basis in Indonesia. The 1945 Constitution has been replaced by the 1949 Indonesian American Constitution (known as the Indonesian Constitution RIS) on 27 December 1949 after Sukarno was stripped of the job. (Sukaraya, B. 2013, September 1). History of the Indonesian Consitution. *Budisukarya Blog*. Retrieved July 18, 2018, from <https://budisukarya.wordpress.com/2013/09/01/history-of-the-indonesian-constitution/>.

¹⁸ Defense Ministry Gets Top Allocation In 2018 State Budget. (2017, October 26). *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved July 18, 2018, from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/10/26/defense-ministry-gets-top-allocation-in-2018-state-budget.html>.

¹⁹ Shipbuilders struggle to meet production targets. (2013, August 14). *Jakarta Post*. Retrieved July 13, 2018, from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/08/14/shipbuildersstrugglemeet-production-targets.html>.

²⁰ Hopes for Shipbuilding Sail on the Horizon. (2015, January 1). *Jakarta Globe*. Retrieved July 13, 2018, from <http://thejakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/business/hopes-for-shipbuildingsailon-the-horizon/>.

industry became the preferred element for the fulfilment of the procurement of the main equipment of weapon systems in MEF doctrine. Furthermore, the MEF doctrine is a priority for the fulfilment of the main equipment and weapons systems in the domestic defence industry. Thus, the development of the defence industry continues to be implemented the main equipment of weapons systems and anticipating the domestic defence industry able to produce the requirement.²¹

Conclusion

Since Jokowi had declared the national's GMA policy in 2014, the government more concerning towards overcoming the illegal fishing activities. Since that time, the government via Maritime and Fishery had applied the *sinking of the foreign vessel* a maritime law and relevant for both Indonesia national law and International convention. This policy is taken for several reasons, firstly, the illegal fishing in Indonesia invites other transnational crimes such as human and drug trafficking, armed robbery, piracy smuggling, illegal immigration and terrorism. Secondly, exploded and sank policy has been given to prevent the illegal activities cases an escalating. This policy aims not only to protect the interests of Indonesia but also to strengthen Indonesia's commitment to counter the transnational crime that keeps on occurring within its maritime territory. Initially, *the sinking of the foreign vessel* policy has been negatively impacted by neighbour ASEAN countries such as Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia by criticizing and accusing the Indonesian government of its strict policies. However, after four years of implementation, these countries had supported the policy and become a role model for addressing the illegal fishing issue in their own country. Simultaneously, the Indonesian government is needed to explain and support to counter an illegal fishing activity within the regional and international community. Basically, this policy seems controversial, but the Indonesian government has succeeded in reducing illegal fishing within its maritime territory and maintaining a relationship within the ASEAN region via foreign policy and partnership strategy. The impact of MEF doctrine is implemented to achieve the TNI-AL's goals with quality and quantity. Therefore, the impact has always contained an element of the implementation and the achievement of objectives. Hence, the MEF doctrine is capable of the enhancing and

²¹A self-reliant defence industry: a mission impossible for Indonesia?. (2018, July 3). the Conversation. Retrieved July 16, 2018, from <https://theconversation.com/a-self-reliant-defence-industry-a-mission-impossible-for-indonesia-98934>.

implementing the nation's goals by the elements as follows: (a) The TNI-AL of human resources capable of expanding the Sea Power within a maritime territory. (b) Achievement of the procurement of the main tools of weapons systems for TNI-AL by 2024. (c) The facility of a main base and training area had spread within Indonesia's maritime strategic locations, an effect for planning the scheduled training and sustainable during conduct training. (d) The domestic defence industry was supporting the procurement of modern a main equipment of weapons systems.

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